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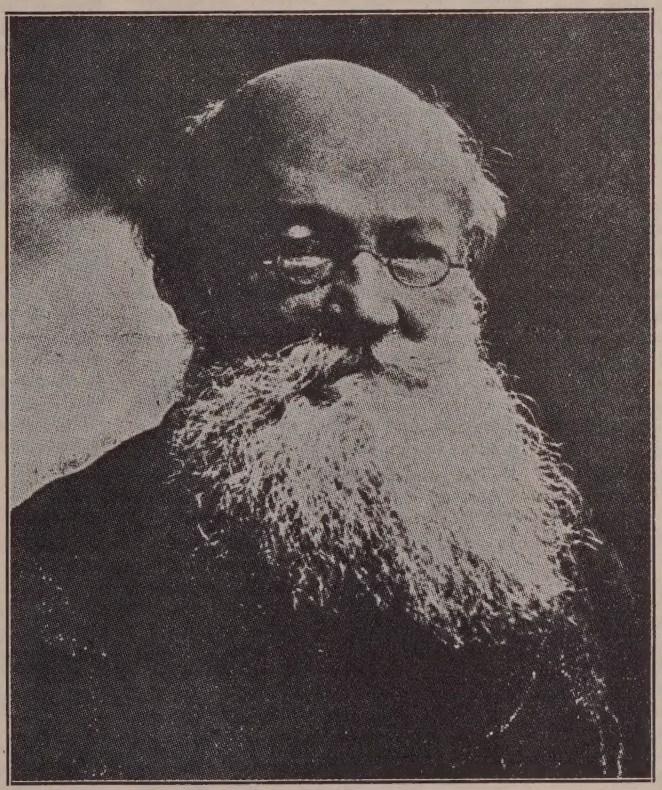
Kropotkin and the New Economics

By GORHAM MUNSON

America, considerably in the rear of other English-speaking countries, is beginning to hear of the New Economics of C. H. Douglas. This has largely happened through the circulation in America of the new weekly paper founded last April by Mr. A. R. Orage. Although the paper calls itself "The New English Weekly," it is really Anglo-American in its interests and has rapidly gained American writers for its pages and American readers who are enthusiastic about its economic program. Next to Major Douglas, Mr. Orage is probably the foremost interpreter of the New Economics, and it is interesting to know that he was at one time a friend of Kropotkin in London. What acquaintance, if any, Major Douglas had with Kropotkin I do not know, but it is safe to assume his knowledge of Kropotkin's economic thought. There are, as we shall presently see, striking similarities between some of their main conceptions.

Thus it was not surprising that there would appear in an early issue of "The New English Weekly" (June 2) an article entitled "A Modern Prophet" which praised Kropotkin for his foresightedness in "Fields, Factories and Workshops." The writer of this article, John W. Coulter, remarked that "no doubt we are still a long way from the new England to which Kropotkin pointed us, a self-supporting nation made up of small farm-factory communities. But however judgment or lack of faith may make us distrust his view of what lies in the remoter distance, we have already travelled far enough to see how right he was in his prevision of our present state. It is as he foretold. Events today justify his theory of the consecutive development of nations. One by one, in the inevitable working-out of the historic process, the nations of earth become, industrially, master in their own house. It is the pattern of growth in modern civilization, as Kropotkin foresaw, and involves the paradox that internationalism, economic and political, is to be achieved, if at all, only by first achieving economic and political nationalism. And our activities during the last war, in which productive capacity was suddenly expanded, to a degree previously declared by Kropotkin, proved the man of faith and imagination to be right and the practical unbelievers wrong; the end of the age of scarcity had, as he predicted, already arrived."

Kropotkin's "The Conquest of Bread" is equally good ground for basing a claim that he is one of the most remarkable economic prophets of our era. The New Economists (Douglas, Orage, Arthur Brenton, C. Marshal Hattersley) have for fourteen years or so been trying to instil in the public consciousness of England the fact that England's Real Wealth is very great. But Kropotkin before the War of 1914 was telling his readers that "truly, we are rich—far richer than we think; rich in what we already possess, richer still in the possibilities of production of our actual mechanical outfit; richest of all in what we might win from our soil, from our manufactures, from our technical knowledge, were they but applied to bringing about the well-being of all." This



PETER KROPOTKIN—Dec. 9, 1842—Feb. 8, 1921

is as contemporary as Technocracy, for it will be noted that Kropotkin had in mind the *potential* rate of production of goods and services as the foundation of Real Wealth.

"No," he said, "plenty for all is not a dream—though it was a dream in those days when man, for all his pains, could hardly win a few bushels of wheat from an acre of land, and had to fashion by hand all the implements he used in agriculture and industry. Now it is no longer a dream, because man has invented a motor which, with a little iron and a few sacks of coal, gives him the mastery of a creature strong and docile as a horse, and capable of setting the most complicated machinery in motion." Quotations could be multiplied to reveal Kropotkin's grasp of the fact that industrially we are in the Age of Plenty, that there is no longer any question of Supply but only one of Distribution. Everyone now knows that the spectre of Scarcity has been banished, but only a very few in 1913 could see what had happened, and of those few no one wrote more eloquently than Kropotkin.

Another conception of Kropotkin's has been restated in post-war economic literature and is destined to play an increasingly important part in the reconstruction of our economic life. It is what Veblen calls "progress in the industrial arts" and what Major Douglas calls our Common Cultural Inheritance. It is claimed that we must add another factor of wealth-production to the traditional three, Land, Labor and Capital, and that fourth factor is "the state of the industrial arts" or our Cultural Legacy which no one but the community ought to own. This is how, in "The Conquest of Bread," Kropotkin described this additional factor.

"Every machine has had the same history—a long record of sleepless nights and of poverty, of disillusions and of joys, of partial improvements discovered by several generations of nameless workers, who have added to the original invention these little nothings, without which the most fertile idea would remain fruitless. More than that: every new invention is a synthesis, the resultant of innumerable inventions which have preceded it in the vast field of mechanics and industry.

"Science and industry, knowledge and application, discovery and practical realization leading to new discoveries, cunning of brain and hand, toil of mind and muscle—all work together. Each discovery, each advance, each increase in the sum of human riches, owes its being to the physical and mental travail of the past and the present.

"By what right then can any one whatever appropriate the least morsel of this immense whole and say—This is mine, not yours?"

Again quotations could be multiplied, but there is no need. The germ-idea which has grown up to the strictly scientific conception of Veblen and Douglas is very clearly stated by Kropotkin, and from henceforth all orthodox economists have the duty of reckoning with these revolutionary statements on Real Wealth and our Common Cultural Inheritance. Immense consequences flow from them. Kropotkin saw one of them with great clearness. "No more," said he, "of such vague formulas as 'The right to work,' or 'To each the whole result of his labor.' What we proclaim is The Right to Well-Being: Well-Being for All!" This too has been incorporated

in Major Douglas's New Economics. What does the right to work amount to when increasingly the work is being taken out of men's hands and entrusted to machines, when, that is, men are becoming unneeded in production? But the right to well-being is something else. It does not depend on "work" of which, as we are seeing, not enough can be provided for all men in a technological age. It is the right to claim what one needs of the Real Wealth of the nation. "Dividends for All" is the Douglas expression. "Well-being for all (dividends for all) is not a dream. It is possible, realizable, owing to all that our ancestors have done to increase our powers of production."

Another consequence Kropotkin noted is of the greatest importance. "A new method of production cannot exist side by side with the old forms of consumption, any more than it can adapt itself to the old forms of political organization." But this impossibility is precisely what our banking system is trying to achieve. Living in a civilization with "an energy-magnitude of 154,000 kg. calories per capita per diem," to use Technocratic jargon, our bankers are trying to manipulate a monetary system better fitted for a society of "an energy-magnitude of 4,000 kg. calories per capita per diem." They refuse, that is, to see the necessity of changing the old form of consumption to accord with the new and expanding productive forms. They come in between the consumer and the producer by maintaining antiquated restrictions on the buying-power of the consumer. It is here that Kropotkin and the Douglas-Orage school diverge.

Well-being for all, said Kropotkin, is the end, but expropriation is the means, and the social form will be Anarchist-communism. Well-being for all, say Douglas and Orage, but expropriation is unnecessary to achieve it. It can be achieved simply by a scientific reform of the financial system putting it in harmony with the facts of industry. The social form will be the Social Credit Commonwealth.

I shall try to describe briefly what the New Economics proposes. In a sentence, it is to make Finance subordinate to Industry and the Consumer (who is everybody) paramount. The weak side of Kropotkin is the insufficient attention he paid to questions of money and credit. This is the strong side of the New Economics. It concentrates directly on the problem of consumption and how the distributive (monetary) system can be changed to solve the problem.

Kropotkin, it will be remembered, thought it necessary to take *things* away from certain people, to expropriate the capitalist. The New Economist wishes to take *power* away from the banker-monopolists and let everybody keep what things he now owns, for there is plenty for all, and in a short time, with credit socialized, it will not matter whether one has more than another. All will be in a position to get what they want.

No doubt it sounds Utopian, but that is what was said about Kropotkin in the old pre-war days. A less Utopian person than Major Douglas I cannot imagine. He is an engineer-economist of wide practical experience. He has taken the step the Technocrats insist they do not wish to take; that is, he has applied the engineer's mentality to financial principles and technique; and his report is that by financial engineering a leisured, cultured free society is possible, and within a brief time. But how? The question is beyond the scope of this paper, which aims only to distinguish certain roots in Kropotkin, namely, the basic conceptions of Real Wealth and Cultural Heritage, which are feeding the New Economists whether or not they have tapped them directly. I can only say that the Douglas System provides for consumer-credits to an extent permitting a community to make effective demand on its total production. And I wish to add that the provision of consumer-credit to the amount necessary to equate Consumption to Production would make for an enormous extension of personal freedom. Major Douglas, recognizing that science has freed man and can free him still more from nature-forced work, would now by instituting his National Dividend economy free man from unnecessary work forced by other men, chiefly bankers. As for Mr. Orage, he once described himself as practically an "eleutheromaniac," and his whole life, a quest for economic, political and psychological freedom, bears him out. As lovers of freedom, the two men are of the fraternity of Kropotkin, though as political economists they differ on the State. The State would be retained by Douglas but as an administrative convenience. The credit-monopolist would go. The citizenry would be financially free.

Kropotkin's Revolutionary Philosophy

By S. WEINER

In his great work "Mutual Aid," Kropotkin gives us the key to his philosophy. Kropotkin's first hand study of nature, as well as his thorough study of the works of the great naturalists and scientists, such as Kessler and Darwin, led him to point to MUTUAL AID and not to the law of tooth and fang as the greatest factor in the progressive evolution of life.

"The animal species, in which individual struggle has been reduced to its narrowest limits, and where the practice of mutual aid has attained the greatest development, are invariably the most numerous, the most prosperous, and the most open to further progress. The mutual protection which is attained in this case, the possibility of attaining old age and accumulating experience, the higher intellectual development and the further growth of social habits, secure the further progressive evolution. The unsocial species on the contrary, are doomed to decay." (*Kropotkin: "Mutual Aid".*)

Applying the law of MUTUAL AID to man, Kropotkin made an original contribution to sociology, and revolutionized the concepts of the nature and origins of the constructive tendencies in social life. Kropotkin refuted the theories advanced by such men as Huxley and Herbert Spencer which emphasized the factor of MUTUAL STRUGGLE and paid little or no attention to the factor of mutual aid.

This distortion of Darwin's ideas was taken up by the oppressors of mankind who, seeking to justify their crimes, glorified exploitation, slavery, and war as a law of nature. The idea behind such concepts as "Egotism," "Might is right," "The will to power," etc., etc., is based on the belief that progress is due solely to the intellectuals, the priests, militarists and other "leaders" of the "lower" classes.

The fundamental attitude of the authoritarian Socialists (Social-democrats, Bolsheviks, etc.) is also based on this misconception of the "Struggle for Existence." They also claim that the inert masses need their leadership, that the masses cannot work out their own problems unless power is centralized in a government (dictatorship, democratic republic, etc.). All the misery and oppression which unlimited power in the hands of an all embracing bureaucracy entails is for the good of the people. There is no other way out; it is a "law of nature" backed up by science.

Tracing the development of two opposing currents in society, mutual-aid Communism and local autonomy under conditions of freedom, on the one hand, and the growth of private property, the state, the law, under conditions of centralization, on the other, Kropotkin shows the part played by the MASSES throughout history in the development of society.

"All great ideas," says Kropotkin, "were born among the masses." In the clan and tribe, a whole network of customs and social habits based upon the common ownership and common defense of the land were developed by the people. The Barbarian Village Community which grew out of the clan and tribe and which developed a still more extensive network of customs, habits and institutions, was also based upon this common ownership and defense of the land. From the Village Folkmote, a federation of villages belonging to one stem were developed. All of these institutions were in existence long before the rise of the centralized State. These institutions were developed in the face of the bitter opposition of the powers of darkness. The masses fought for every one of their liberties. History is the story of the conquest of Freedom, the conquest of the right to local autonomy and voluntary agreement.

When new conditions demanded changes, the Medieval City and the guilds were brought into existence. Speaking of the Medieval City, Kropotkin says that, "Not only many of the aspirations of our modern radicals were clearly realized in the Medieval ages, but much of what is now described as Utopian was accepted then as a matter of course."

The Common Law, ethical and moral relationships, great inventions, masterpieces of Art, and practically all of the constructive forces in Society were developed under conditions of comparative freedom by the creative genius of the unknown masses. "The study of the inner life of the Medieval Cities and of the Greek Cities reveals the fact that the combination of mutual aid as it was practiced within the guild and the Greek clan, with a large initiative which was left to the individual and the group by means of the federative principle, gave to mankind the two greatest periods of its history—the ancient Greek city and the Medieval city periods; while the ruin of the above institutions during the State periods of history, which followed, corresponds in both cases to a period of rapid decay."

The State, the Church and emergent capitalism destroyed the Medieval Cities, almost paralyzing the progress of mankind; and thereby retarded the Industrial Revolution for a very long time.

The Industrial Revolution itself was due to the awakening of the creative genius of man. The need for mutual aid was so great that the constructive tendency reasserted itself in the form of an infinite number of voluntary associations and institutions which developed in spite of the State and which alone were able to respond to the needs of life.

"Which social forms best guarantee in such and such societies, and in Humanity at large, the greatest sum of happiness and variety? Which forms of society are most likely to allow this sum of happiness to increase and develop in quantity and in quality —that is to say—will allow this sum of happiness to become more complete and more varied?" (*Kropotkin: "Modern Science and Anarchism."*)

Through a study of the facts of history, Kropotkin concludes that the "pursuit of equality is the tendency of history," that equality is impossible without freedom, that Anarchism and Communism are the synthesis of these tendencies, the goal of the "revolution of the twentieth century." The abolition of the oppressive institutions in society is the INDISPENSABLE condition for the further progress of mankind.

"The idea of Independent Communes for the territorial organization, and of federations of Trade

Unions for the organization of men in accordance with their different functions gave a CONCRETE conception of a society regenerated by the social revolution. There remained only to add to these two modes of organization a third which we saw rapidly developing during the past fifty years, since a little liberty had been conquered in this direction, the thousands and thousands of free combines and societies growing up everywhere for the satisfaction of all imaginable needs, economic, sanitary, and educational, for mutual protection, for amusement, etc., all of these covering each other and all of them ready to meet the needs by new organizations and new adjustments."

Thus Kropotkin enumerates the basic forms of the new society. The institution of these forms incorporate and give concrete expression to the constructive forces in society. They "guarantee the greatest sum of happiness" and "are most likely to allow this happiness to increase and develop in quantity and in quality."

Taking into consideration ideas of so revolutionary a nature, and embracing every department of social life, it was but natural that Kropotkin should be a revolutionist. Basing himself upon the idea, that the means must correspond to the end in view, knowing the nature of the State, having a thorough understanding of the aspirations and struggles of the masses, Kropotkin showed that only a social revolution could bring about the necessary changes, and that only the masses could bring it to a successful conclusion.

"The whole of history shows us," says Kropotkin, "that men thrown into a government by a revolutionary wave have never been able to accomplish what was expected of them, and this is UNAVOIDABLE. Because in the task of reconstructing society on new principles, separate men however intelligent and devoted they may be are sure to fail. The collective spirit of the masses is necessary." As to the government, he says in another place, "whether it be constituted by force only, or by election, whether by 'Dictatorship of the Proletariat,' as they used to say in France in the 'forties,' as they still say in Germany (and in Russia) or else an elected 'Provisional Government,' or a 'Convention,' we put no faith in it. We know beforehand that it will be able to do nothing to accomplish the revolution so long as the people themselves do not accomplish the change by working out on the spot the necessary new institutions."

Applying these principles to almost every phase of social life, Kropotkin showed in a series of works dealing with Economics, Penology, Education, Ethics, History, etc., that these principles were not only scientifically correct, but also practical.

Space forbids an extensive analysis of these works so I will point out a few important ideas which Kropotkin developed.

In the "Great French Revolution" he made a great contribution to the history of the period when he pointed out how the masses fought to establish "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" IN FACT. He showed the part played by the communes of the people in the revolution, and how the delegation of power into the hands of the State and the Bourgeoisie defeated the revolution. He also pointed out that the principles of mutual aid and federation are still active, and predicts that they will triumph.

In the "Conquest of Bread," he anticipates "Technocracy" when he shows that production and distribution are social phenomena, and that the slogan "From each according to his ability and to each according to his needs," is not only morally sound, but also economically practical.

In "Fields, Factories and Workshops," Kropotkin gives us a theory of labor that is in accord with modern psychology. He shows that a variety of pursuits and creative work are necessary for the fullest development of man. One of the greatest curses of the Machine Age is its stultifying effect on the human mind. He advances the idea of the Autonomous Commune, which can be made practically self sustaining. The intensive cultivation of the soil, the development of machinery, the distribution of electrical energy make it possible to produce most of the necessities of life within the area of the commune. He combines the city with the country, agriculture with manufacturing.

Have not the revealations of "Technocracy" pointed out the enormous wastes in centralized industry? Wastes due to the fact that billions of dollars are spent in equipping huge plants with machinery that becomes obsolete in a short time, due to the rapid advances in technology? Kropotkin understood this and showed that production and distribution could be simplified, waste reduced to a minimum, by the decentralization of industry. The federation of autonomous and practically self-sustaining communes eliminates the dangers of a centralized bureaucracy, at the same time abolishing the enormous wastes in transportation and duplication of functions characteristic of modern industry.

In the same work Kropoktin deals with education. He anticipates the trend of modern education, when he welds education to life, by integrating industry and education. The child would learn by working in the field, factory and shop, thereby applying the lessons learned at school to life. In fact the industry is PART of the school. The gap between theory and practice would be eliminated, thereby assuring a better, more fully adjusted type of individual.

Throughout his works he stresses the fact that the masses are the "Alpha and Omega"; that like Mother Nature, they have in them all the potentialities for progress. Only through them and by them is progress possible. The individualization of the masses is the tendency of history. The all embracing social theory that assures the further development of this tendency,

(*Continued on page 7*)

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PETER ALEXEVITCH KROPOTKIN

By THOMAS WRIGHT

On the reading of many biographies, seldom are we given the impression through the matter presented that the personality subject was worthy of being known to us. Rather the objective appears to be a submission of the brilliancy of its author. The several monographs and notations on Kropotkin that have been given the light of day by a publisher bear either the character of eulogy or aversion. None expresses the judgment of patient investigation and scientific evaluation. Often they do not even bear internal evidence that the authors have read their subject's writing, much less understood their content or purport. No personality, and in particular Kropotkin, can be properly understood if he is segregated from pre- and post-natal material and cultural factors. I have in one of my little works, "Governance and Human Nature," pointed out the serious harm that truth is put to when unreasonable, unethical bias is permitted to have sway one way or the other, i.e., nationalism, social status, marriage with Jewish women, symbolism by personal exhibition (beard), messiahism, as expressive of megalomania, cultural attainment as a norm of authority, and last, but not all, physiological deformity, either excessive or diminutive. Kropotkin's status as a scientific worker in the realm of climatic geography has been liberally testified to by Professor Huntington of America. His "Appeal to the Young" that was Englished through the translation of the late H. M. Hyndman has been, is and will be a classic for years to come. As a historian, his monograph on the French Revolution is but literature and not a scientific work presenting the principles and philosophy of social mechanics in operation. C. D. James' monograph thereon is a much more serviceable work in the interest of human enlightenment. The popular prevailing concept re his "Mutual Aid" is erroneous. It is not a thesis, as many believe, against the principle of competition that dominates life, but only a submission of evidence to discount the poetical excess of Tennysonian misunderstanding of the laws of evolution as expressed in life. His "Ethics" is a stilted job, due to a conflicting complex, to put it mildly. His revolutionary ideas were quixotic, to say the least, but when Kropotkin let himself go, his natural self, without the damaging inhibition of apostateship, he was good. Notwithstanding what all other comrades have said to the contrary, his stand in the last great war was the finest display of character to his credit. His "Fields, Factories and Workshops" submits his sound understanding of the value of applied science, if rationally and humanely controlled. But when matters of philosophy were involved he found himself in waters too deep for his comfort. This is shown when he attempted to deal with the problem of the pressure of the increase of population in relation to the means of subsistence. His sex views were definitely stunted and unresponsive to the experimental urge. All in all, in his evolution, he once more evidenced the common fact that where and when Anarchism is the paramount thing, Communism recedes and vice versa. Of his best things written, "Modern Science and Anarchism" takes the field. This work should not be confused with the edition published in Yiddish that incorporates pamphlets that were issued something like thirty years earlier. We can discount his unfair presentment of Stirner's position and aspersion of the acclaimed individualist Anarchists (See Encyc. Brit. 11th Ed., article on "Anarchism"). His grasp of the revolutionary principle of personality in the realm of Nature as expressed in Laws was not only that of a pioneer but of the moderns.

"THE NEW ENGLISH WEEKLY"

January 26, 1933

Mr. Tom Johnston recently displayed Technocracy over the entire front page of his Socialist "Glasgow Forward." The following letter appeared in an obscure corner of the same issue:

Sir,—Kropotkin writing at Bromley, Kent, in 1898, defined the main subject of *scientific* economics as "the economy of energy required for the satisfaction of human needs." He said that as economics became scientific it tended to "become a science devoted to the study of the needs of men and of the means of satisfying them with the least possible waste of energy." Is it *impossible* to get our pundits to realise that Hegel, Kant and the whole species *philosophic*, never *did* anything; that Marx's "value" belongs to philosophy; that Newton, Watt and the engineers *did* all that the word "satisfying" means to us, and that "price" is something actual that belongs to them and to Douglas? Perhaps it is not possible—and *perhaps it doesn't matter.*

Yours faithfully, Tudor Jones

I suggest to Mr. Tom Johnston, for the justification of Scottish education and brains, that he ought to devote the entire front page of his paper to the contents of that letter until Social Credit is in operation. [Ed. N. E. W.]

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Kropotkin, the Prophet

By HARRY KELLY

The article by Gorham Munson in this issue and with it a copy of *The New English Weekly* of June 2, 1932, containing the article by John W. Coulter, came as balm to my soul and brought with it recollections of my talk with Kropotkin when he was preparing the final manuscript of *Fields, Factories and Workshops* for publication and the thrill I had later on reading it when the book appeared.

He put in four months work on the book in addition to using the articles previously printed in the *Nineteenth Century*. And as a bit of information for prospective authors with a message, Kropotkin told me that he was anxious to have the book published although all he was making out of it was $150 and he had deferred writing his usual "Recent Science" articles while doing it. It was a disappointment to him as well as to the comrades in general that the price was 12/6 or about $3 and the first edition was a very small one. Later it appeared in boards and sold at a shilling. I never spoke with him about it, but there was a rumor that Cadbury, the Quaker millionaire cocoa manufacturer, had the book published and sold at cost.

Although the book was scientific it was also poetic in that it pictured a society combining the beauty, health, utility and intellectual life of town and country. In that sense it seemed to me a natural corollary to William Morris' *News From Nowhere;* this in spite of the fact that the latter was pure fantasy, the dream of a poet where beauty took precedence over so-called utility.

Living in England when *Fields, Factories and Workshops* was published, many others as well as myself anticipated that it would develop a back to the land movement, but instead it was probably taken for a "Little Englander" tract and was out of harmony with the pride England had, and still has, in being considered "the workshop of the world." Kropotkin's idea of the decentralization of industry through the transmission of electric power; of the breaking up of large industrial centres; of a combination of urban and rural life, where one could be closer to nature, was in conflict with the prevailing ideas of the vast majority of Britishers, and as Mr. Coulter says, the book was "taken as read."

Within the last few years it has been my good fortune to visit England four times and I found even among our own comrades a feeling that it was a waste of human labor to raise foodstuffs in a country which would yield only one crop a year while other countries yielded two and even three crops a year. This view involves the idea of a world state with its almost insurmountable problems and one which seems a long way off, if not entirely impossible.

Some years ago when the call had gone out from Britain that a general election was about to take place, I met in New York a member of the British Labor Party who in his youth had been sympathetic toward Anarchism. He was on his way home to take part in the campaign which resulted in the British Labor Party obtaining office. In the talk we had he told me of a visit made by a deputation of which he was a member (he was Secretary of the Agricultural Laborers Union) to Bonar Law, Prime Minister at that time. They called to ask for certain remedial legislation for the farmer. What they asked for was in effect a tariff on wheat and corn, or a subsidy to the farmer by the government. Bonar Law informed them that no political party dared go to the country with such a program, for it meant an increase in the price of bread, and that meant death to the party advocating it. In reply to my question what land program the British Labor Party had, the answer was, *none.* He admitted that they could not promise the farmer and agricultural laborer either tariff or subsidy if either would bring an increase in the price of bread, and that without the farmer and agricultural laborer they could hardly hope to obtain a majority in the House of Commons. In spite of this the Labor party had no program on the land question. The argument for a large navy has always been that England is not self-supporting and without the navy she could be starved by other great powers. It seemed to me, and I expressed the thought to him, that if Britain used even a quarter of the money she spends on her navy for scientific agriculture, perhaps under glass, where she could control weather conditions, she could have her two and perhaps four crops a year and be independent. In a recent number of FREEDOM we showed that Great Britain spent last year no less than $527,000,000 on armaments. Suppose one-fourth of that had been spent on scientific methods of agriculture such as Kropotkin advocated thirty-four years ago, not by subsidizing farmers or putting a tariff on wheat and corn, to develop new methods of farming, what a difference in the life of the people of the British Isles it would have made! It would surely have absorbed every man it displaced in the industries that made the battleships and probably would have taken on more. It would have helped to make Britain self-supporting, so that in the event of war she could be starved; and it would have created a happier and healthier race of men and women. But then the tradition and even the mentality of the average Britisher would have to undergo a change and that is where the trouble lies. As Mr. Coulter says: "Its author (Kropotkin) happened to be one of those individuals who in their own lives anticipate the slower moral and social development of the rest of us. Long before 1898 he had arrived where most of us are tardily arriving now. He was, in a metabiological sense, a significant variation."

Electricity and the radio have shown how easy it is to combine rural and urban life, and the process of decentralization is taking place in spite of appearances to the contrary. Even a president-elect can think of vast projects spread over five states that will put 200,000 men back on the land. Without accepting it as a solution for unemployment—for that would be childish—it is significant, to say the least. Lack of vision and inertia have ever been the greatest factors in retarding the advance of the human family. Men living and working in slums and sweatshops are so impatient with new forms of life that they defend the things that actually create the conditions under which they suffer. A scientist like Kropotkin and a poet like William Morris are "taken as read" and forgotten.

As one much younger than my teacher, I fear he gave me far too much of his time, but in my many visits to him I can never remember seeing him in a pessimistic mood and it often made me wonder. The answer may be, as with all prophets, that he saw beyond the time in which he lived. He saw and perhaps even lived in his mind that society of which he dreamed and for which he worked, and living so he could not become downhearted or discouraged. Perhaps as Mr. Coulter says, he did not "allow sufficiently for the obtuseness and obstinacy" of men. My own feeling is that he saw with the eye of a scientist the truth expressed so beautifully by Ferrer, "that nothing endures except that which has taken time to build." He saw and understood what the true scientist sees and understands, that generations trained to slave in factories and offices, to live in tenements and suburban villas, cannot suddenly change, but that the change is taking place nevertheless and will in time lift us out of the conditions under which we live into a new and happier state. He was no fatalist in the sense of thinking that the transfer would come without effort, for as he expressed himself in his "Anarchist Morality," to struggle is to live and the fiercer the struggle the intenser the life. This should be the keynote of our movement, for with it will come some of the joy felt by that great Seer and Prophet, Peter Kropotkin.

MALATESTA FUND

Most readers of FREEDOM undoubtedly know that our old and devoted comrade, Errico Malatesta, passed away some months ago at an advanced age and that news was received later from his widow that he was buried in Potter's Field. Some of us thought then and think now that a man who meant so much to our movement and to the proletariat in general should be buried in a place where in days to come those who should wish to pay a visit to his last resting place could do so. To do this it is necessary to know where he lies and this is not possible under present conditions. An appeal was made, but differences of opinion arose as some comrades think such an attitude superstitious and should be frowned upon. A strange attitude this is, that one whom we loved and honored today should become so much human manure to be swept in the ash can tomorrow. If it is heretical to say that we should like to know where our old friend and comrade sleeps his last sleep so that we might drop a flower on his grave—should fortune smile on us and enable us to visit Rome some day—then we are heretical.

To date only $70.85 has been received by us, of which the following came through the *Freie Arbeiter Stimme.* If others wish to contribute kindly send the money to Harry Kelly in care of this office and mark it "Malatesta Fund."

Collected through Max Dobranofsky, N. Y.	$4.00
Collected through B. Surasky, Baltimore, Md.	1.50
Branch 203 W. C. Ferrer Center, N. Y.	5.00
Kropotkin Literary Society, Br. 413 W. C. Los Angeles, Cal.	5.60
J. Denenberg, Washington, D. C.	1.00
Joseph Cohen, N. Y.	1.00
Collected through Amshol Group, N. Y. Bronx	4.25
Collected through New Society Br. 364 W. C. N. Y.	6.00
Group Arbeiter Friend, London, England	5.00
Sam Cline, Compton, Cal.	1.00
N. Eckstein, Plainfield, N. J.	.50
Max Menacker, Harrisburg, Pa.	1.00
Total	$35.85

H. K.

The Theatre

By M. Jagendorf

The Theater Speaks at Last

Elmer Rice has again achieved an unusual play. WE THE PEOPLE, produced with the artistry that made "Street Scene" so real and searching, is a flaming piece of exposition bristling with indignation. There are twenty scenes, each complete and revealing some aspect of our common life, ground out with cumulative power. It is a searching, burning indictment of our social and economic structure. Militarism, race inequalities, academic freedom, the hopeless muddle of unemployment amid wealth, the inevitable cleavage between worker and boss, the stupid helplessness of the farmer, the inhuman smugness of those in high places—all these are treated not merely in a dextrous, but also in a stimulating and provocative way. Throughout the play runs the theme of futility in the face of prevailing social conditions.

It isn't difficult to understand just how William Davis, out of a job, accepts the terrifying news of the closing of his bank, with all the accumulated savings of a lifetime, mutters, with dull resignation: "What the Hell!" Men and women in the audiences, as the play swept on in its grim motif of protest, let themselves go in loud and definite approval or denial of the opinion expressed on the stage. Not since the days of the old fashioned melodramas have similar cries been heard from balcony and pit. Eleanor Phelps, R. Theodore, B. Cordoner, K. Emmet and W. Ingersol are among the many outstanding members of an exceedingly good cast. It is a splendid play, unless you prefer the truth sugar-coated and diluted rather than caustic and honest.

For an Evening's Pleasure

If you like something charming, delightful, amusing and satirical go to see THE NINE O'CLOCK REVUE that is given every Sunday at nine p.m. at the Barbizon Plaza at 58th Street and Sixth Avenue. It is not expensive and will give you a bit of theater you have not had hitherto.

It is the only real intimate revue that has come to Gotham. Balieff tried it and failed. The result of the American group is a complete success and can well measure itself against the exotic and perhaps over colorful attempt of the Russians.

There are two men in the show far superior to Balieff as master of ceremonies, Gene Lockhart and Sigmund Spaeth. Both are amusingly genial and roundfaced as was the moon-faced Russian. The moment these two get on the stage and commence to talk to you, they disseminate the feeling of talking to you personally—the fun commences. Mr. Lockhart has a rare and delicate humor that will keep you chuckling with delight. He writes songs and playlets that are barbed wire worms in our daily life. Only he tells it amusingly and like a gentleman. Mr. Spaeth can sing old songs with comments as no man in America.

But that is not all. There is a great deal more besides. Gluck-Sandor and Felicia Sorel, and Thalia Zanou and Asia Kaz who dance splendidly; Alexis Rothow whose bullfight is as funny as the bullfight of the "Piccoli"; Katheline Lockhart; Van Cape; Rita Burgess Gould and others.

Every member of the group has individuality as well as ability. Each act is a gem. And permeating the whole performance are a charm and intimacy no other show in the city has. . . .

And then there are THE YALE PUPPETEERS at 34 West 46th Street. A puppet show for adults, piquant, rowdy and hilarious. It is a triumphant vindication of puppetual perseverance over political paresis. Surely this should appeal to radicals.

At their little playhouse on the side street, you can see "Uncle Tom's Hebb'n," or "Mr. Noah," or "The Pie-Eyed Piper," in which "our" Jimmy Walker has a leading part, as Gilbert and Sullivan might have written it. You can see a dancing mice chorus and many other things equally amusing. For a delightful evening peppered and salted with flings at our political and social stupidities I can recommend nothing better than the "Yale Puppets."

There there is THE PICCOLI. A marvelous puppet show brought from Italy that will delight grown-ups as well as youngsters. And also SHAN-KAR, the most wonderful Indian dancer ever seen in this country. More of him the next time. And last but not least there are the amusements offered by the NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH. In their little auditorium you can witness the most interesting entertainments which are not only entertaining but cultural as well.

The Building Material of the Coming Social Structure

By DR. D. GLOBUS

It is becoming daily more evident that the present social order is on its last legs. It is being destroyed by contradictions that stubbornly refuse to be reconciled. Technical progress which was at first the life breath of capitalism has become its grave-digger.

The trouble with capitalism is that it cannot stand still and rest on its laurels. It must speed on madly, rush forward, driven and pushed by blind and uncontrollable forces, it can not stop even when it sees plainly the abyss yawning in its way.

The present terriffic depression, so wide spread, so devastating, has spoken a language plain and convincing. We all see now, if we have at all eyes to see, that capitalism cannot survive, something else must take its place. But what is that something else to be? Is it a step forward or a step backward? Is our unstable, semi-civilization going forward to a genuine civilization, or are we going to fall back into some form of barbarism?

The fear of return to barbarism is not a vain fear. For if the old system is dying rapidly, the birth of the new seems to be a slow and hesitating process. Some sort of a new social structure is apparently arising out of the chaos, but its outlines are dim and indistinct. Or perhaps it would be more correct to say that several social systems are struggling to be born. Something is being created—for does not nature abhor a vacuum?—but what it is we do not know. And because we do not know what it is—we are uneasy about it. For perhaps it is not at all a genuinely new and superior social system that is arising out of the confusion, but something that only pretends and promises to be better. Hell is paved with good intentions not only in individual affairs. It is not even entirely impossible—the way things look now—that we shall evolve or stumble into a social order that will perform the miraculous feat of being even worse than the present system. It will have to go some to accomplish that — but strange and full of surprises are the ways of history! Some form of fascism, a benign (gradually turning into malignant) feudalism or some other system of a bright or subdued color, promising in the distant future the utmost liberty, but meanwhile strangely reminiscent of oriental despotism, may take the place of capitalism and prove to be far from an improvement.

Let us give up the idea that the downfall of the capitalist system must be automatically followed by a glorious and radiant socialism, and that it does not matter who is in the saddle after capitalism is unseated. There was once a time when we believed (and many still cling to that pleasant belief) that a wonderful and benevolent, though somewhat mystical dialectic process would do practically all the work of reconstructing society and take care of almost everything, and all that we would have to do would be to watch its step and then fall in line with it. Today we have learned by bitter experience that the ways and methods of the dialectic process are strange and involved, that its capricious antics can not be with any exactness foretold, and that it is therefore extremely difficulty to fall in line with them.

We have learned (and we have paid a very high tuition fee) that the dialectic process, marvelous as it is, needs a great deal of our help and cooperation to be really efficient.

To make sure of the arrival of a genuinely superior social system we must stop relying on any mystical processes. We must look to ourselves for results. We revolutionists must take into our own hands the planning, guiding and supervising of the construction of the new structure. I know this may sound somewhat quixotic, for are we not insignificant in numbers and apparently just as insignificant in influence? It seems to me that we underestimate somewhat our numbers and undervalue enormously our real importance. For after all, we radicals are the real architects of the coming new society. For weak as we are, we are more instrumental than anyone else in shaping the future, for the simple reason that we are more deeply interested than anyone else in the future, have distinct ideas about it, peer constantly into it and strive with might and main to shape and mould it. We alone are future-conscious. The masses are apathetic, the intellectual conservatives want to retain the evil present, the reactionaries would like to go back to the even more evil past. They are all oblivious and indifferent, even hostile to the glorious possibilities of the future. To live in the future and for the future to dream of it and plan it, to extract and develop its latent possibilities, in a word, to create and develop the future out of the ugly chaos of the present in the image and after the likeness of our gods—that is left to us, that is our domain, our right, our task and duty. And if the future is almost exclusively our domain, if it is left to us by default, we are then the architects, the master-builders of the coming social edifice.

Now if this is so, what a tremendous responsibility it throws on us! If we are the shapers of the New World, if our ideas, thoughts, attitudes, standards and philosophic veiws will largely decide whether the new world will be really a step forward, then it is of great importance to examine and scrutinize every idea, every attitude and conception of ours, even the "minor" ones, for their effect may be greater and more lasting than we imagine, they may project themselves into the distant future.

Let him who thinks that I am exaggerating, study the Russian Revolution. Its disappointments are great, and we blame its leaders for them. But are we just to those leaders? Should not the blame be put more properly on the shoulders of all of us? Isn't there something in us all that made possible the acts of the rulers of Soviet Russia, that have so disappointed, shocked and disillusioned us? Hasn't the sneering contempt for utopias and dreams for "ideologies," for "eternal and universal values" something to do with it? Haven't we gone too far with our materialistic explanations and conceptions, and haven't we converted our materialistic explanations into materialistic evaluations? Haven't our

ethical relations imperceptibly and inadvertently slipped into ethical Nihilism?

Our materialism, both philosophic and historical, was a proper and necessary reaction against the idealism that has joined religion in justifying, covering up and glorifying the oppression and exploitation of the masses by the ruling class. But that necessary and unavoidable reaction has overreached itself. It was too violent and went too far. It was not careful enough not to injure seriously our own social and ethical idealism.

The average person, even the average intellectual, is not a skilled horseback rider. It is difficult for him to ride two horses at the same time, particularly if they are not going in the same direction. And unless he is a trained metaphysician, he finds it very hard to be a hard and positive philosophic and historical materialist, preach it tirelessly in and out of season, and at the same time be a gentle and tender-hearted ethical and social idealist. He generally becomes confused. High and noble sentiments and deeds alternate with emotions and acts of an opposite character. The high and noble ends remain, but the means to secure the ends frequently degenerate, which is a most dangerous business, since unfortunately there is no sharp and clear division between the end and the means. They usually overlap.

This is why the radical world must keep on examining and reexamining its stock of ideas. We must never forget that they may play a fateful part in the shaping of the future. The prejudices, superstitions, ill-digested theories and fanaticisms of the radical are even more dangerous than those of the conservative.

The high ideals of the revolutionist are important, but, unfortunately, his false or low ideals and standards are also important. For they are all the bricks and cement out of which the coming social structure will be built.

Therefore, if we are to be faithful to our task, it behooves us to see that our ideas, our vision, our standards and our values—the bricks and cement of the future social edifice—shall be made of pure, strong and beautiful material, so that a solid, good and noble social structure may be built of them.

Cooperation, A Libertarian Discovery

Joseph Warren, the First to Demonstrate it Scientifically

By CHARLES T. SPRADING

Libertarians have generally neglected to lay claim to the credit of originating the greatest economic movement of the world, and demonstrating the profoundest economic facts of all time.

Josiah Warren, his biographer Bailie tells us, "was born in Boston in 1798, of historically famous Puritan stock. The Warrens, of Pilgrim lineage from which he sprang, have furnished Massachusetts with many distinguished citizens, of whom the most renowned was General Joseph Warren, the Revolutionary hero killed by the British at Bunker Hill."

Warren was the first man in America, and I believe in the world (1827), to establish a cooperative store in which he bought goods and provisions at wholesale and sold them to the people at cost price, without the use of gold or silver money, but with a mutual money that cost no interest to anyone. He was twenty-two years ahead of Proudhon's Bank of the People that used a mutual money system. He was one hundred and six years ahead of the Technocrats.

The dominant idea of Warren was to do away with the profit system, to produce goods for service and not for profit; to exchange goods on the basis of equal labor, equal value. No interest, no rent, no profit, was the basis laid for the cooperative societies that were to follow in a few years.

The cooperative plan of Warren has been demonstrated in many countries, and by millions of people. It is no longer a theory, but a practical fact of economics. When this system becomes general, it will mean the regeneration of society. For when everything is sold at cost price, that is, the price which actually represents the sum of wealth and labor which it has absorbed, the dream of the great idealists of justice in economic relations will have been reached, and mankind will have been transformed into real human beings.

To show what Warren did, I will quote a page from William Bailie's "Life of Josiah Warren." "On the 18th of May, 1827, there was unpretentiously opened at the corner of Fifth and Vine Streets, in Cincinnati, a small store conducted on a plan new to commerce. It was the first Equity store, designed to illustrate and practicalize the cost principle, the germ of the cooperative movement of the future. When the advantages of the store became known, it proved to be the most popular mercantile institution in the city. The people called it the "Time Store," because a clock was used by the merchant to determine the amount of compensation for his service in waiting upon the customers. The store-keeper exchanged his time for an equal amount of time of those who purchased goods from him. The actual cost of the goods bought was paid for in cash, the labor note of the customer was given to the merchant to pay for his service. It ran something after this fashion: 'Due to Josiah Warren, thirty minutes in carpenter work—John Smith.' Here was the application of the principle of labor for labor, the cost principle, in its most primitive form, which was subsequently modified for the different valuations of the various kinds of labor."

Warren was not a merchant, but a scientist. He was testing out his theory of "Equitable Commerce," as he entitled one of his books, and when he demonstrated the workability of his theory, he closed his store and went on about other scientific investigations, leaving his great economic discovery to others to apply, for the benefit of all who will partake of it.

In his history of the New Harmony Movement, George B. Lockwood says that from Josiah Warren's "Time Store" and "Labor Notes," "Robert Owen derived the central idea of the great labor cooperative societies of Great Britain, which constitute the most successful labor movement of the last century."

The Encyclopedia Britannica says of Owen on this point: "One of the most interesting features of this movement at this period was the establishment in 1832 of an equitable labor exchange system, in which exchange was effected by means of labor notes, the usual means of exchange and the usual middlemen being alike superseded."

Robert Owen is noted as the father of cooperation. In his *History of Cooperation in England*, George Jacob Holyoake, an eminent authority on that subject, says of Owen: "To him we owe the cooperation of today."

The first cooperative magazine was published at Brighton, England, from 1828 to 1830, by Dr. William King, called "The Cooperator." Dr. King was a Libertarian. He stated that: "Cooperation is a voluntary act, and all the power in the world cannot make it compulsory; nor is it desirable that it should depend upon any power but its own."

A cooperative society is a voluntary association of persons with equal responsibilities and rights, organized for the purpose of carrying on a joint economic enterprise in accordance with economic principles. The laws of all countries relative to cooperative organizations require that the object of a cooperative society must be commercial. Organizations exclusively for charitable purposes cannot be regarded as cooperative societies. The commercial element is essential, and distinguishes cooperative societies from trade unions and fraternal societies.

The regular cooperative movement which became international and now has a membership of about 60,000,000 outside of Russia, had its beginning in England in 1844. The Rochdale Pioneers, as they are called, were the founders. There were twenty-eight of them. Their original capital was $140 collected by subscriptions of twopence. Afterwards it was raised to threepence a week. With this capital they opened a site for supplying themselves with provisions. In 1857 they had a membership of 1850, a capital of $75,000 and anuual sales to the amount of $400,000. They now have a membership of 6,000,000 families. The Cooperative Wholesale of England does a business of over $500,000,000 per year.

In the English cooperatives anyone can become a member by paying an entrance fee of one shilling, and members may pay up their shares at the rate of threepence a week. Shares are usually one pound each, and one or two of these shares, transferable but not withdrawable, constitute all the capital a member is required to hold.

The Rochdale plan consists of three principles: (1) Each member, one vote. (2) Money should be borrowed at the prevailing interest. (3) Commodities should be sold at the prevailing market prices, the surplus being returned to the members in proportion to their patronage. These principles have been generally adopted throughout the world. Those organizations that have ignored these principles in cooperative ventures have usually failed.

There are three principal types of cooperative societies: the Consumers' Cooperative Societies, the Agricultural Societies, and the Credit Cooperative Societies.

The function of the Consumers' Cooperative, or, as it is also known, the Distributive Society, is to supply its members with unadulterated goods free from the middleman's profits. For this purpose consumers' societies operate retail stores where members purchase their household supplies.

The function of the Agricultural Societies is to obtain for the individual farmer the benefits of large scale organizations, either through collective buying of farm supplies or through joint disposal of farm products.

The function of the Cooperative Credit Society is to promote thrift among members by accumulating their savings and to make loans to them. It supplies its members with cheap credit facilities.

A complete cooperative is an organization of producers, distributors and consumers. When everything from production to consumption is handled cooperatively there will be no exploitation; that is, the economic problem will be solved.

There is now an international Cooperative Alliance, which is a federation of thirty-six countries which constitutes the alliance. It is a great cooperative international business organization. This is not a political league of nations. It is an economic league of peoples.

Cooperation has developed slowly but permanently in every civilized country of the world. There is not one country where it has failed. There is not one country where it has even declined temporarily. Always onward and upward, and it is the only system known to the writer which promotes justice and liberty.

It will be seen by the foregoing statements of principles that an equitable exchange of service is a desirable condition, for cooperation tends to increase the welfare of all to the highest possible level.

"Living My Life"

A COMMUNICATION By A. BERKMAN

Editor L'Adunata:

I used to receive your paper, but for a long time now it has ceased coming. Perhaps you are still sending it to Paris, but for two years now I have been living in Nice. I have not even your address any more, so that I am compelled to send this letter to you through some friends in New York.

My attention has been called to two articles that have recently appeared in your paper. Some comrade sent me a clipping containing an article by Marcus Graham, and also a typed copy of an article without any signature. Both articles refer to "Living My Life," the autobiography of Emma Goldman.

I have seen a great number of reviews of that book published in newspapers and magazines of various tendencies in different parts of the world. I have read reviews of the E. G. autobiography written by Anarchists, Socialists, Communists, as well as by bourgeois journalists. Some praised the book as a great social and human document; some thought it too Anarchistic, too free and outspoken; others criticized it as not being Anarchistic enough, and there were also those who were shocked to see truth and facts exposed naked, without any covering.

But among all the reviews of the E. G. book I have not seen anything that was as stupid, petty and mean in both spirit and contents as the two articles that appeared in *L'Adunata*.

I cannot call those articles by the name of reviews, for they were nothing of the kind. They were only attacks, personal, bigoted, and all too evidently motivated by a spirit of hatred and vengeance.

I know of nothing more dishonest than to cull out a few words or lines of a book, without reference to their context, and then pretend to "review" the work on the basis of those quotations. It is the most despicable method of yellow journalism, and that is the method used by Marcus Graham in his article in *L'Adunata*. There is no book in existence whose entire sense and contents cannot be fundamentally perverted by such methods of "reviewing." It is the method always resorted to by those who have a private ax to grind against an author and who lack the ability and integrity to review a book properly, in an honest and convincing manner.

I happen to know Marcus Graham. There is hardly a person in our movement who has been a little more prominent than Graham that Graham did not attack. And attack always in the same Jesuitic, underhand and envious manner which is characteristic of the character of Marcus Graham. I personally do not consider Graham worthy of notice. My protest is directed against *L'Adunata*, for it is not fit for an Anarchist publication to fill its columns with the personal spite of soreheads pretending to write a "review."

As to the other article that appeared in L'Adunata about "Living My Life," it bears no signature. At least the typewritten copy a friend sent me (incidentally, from England) has no signature of the author. If you want to spread a lie it is always safer to do so anonymously. No doubt the writer of that article felt that reading the two big volumes of the E. G. autobiography is too much work. One can "review" a book without reading it: it saves time and trouble. In that spirit indeed he "reviewed" it. Naturally his article is a compilation of fancy and downright lying. It is sufficient here to point out one of those lies, the most despicable one and evidently a conscious and wilful lie designed to mislead the uninformed reader.

The anonymous writer in *L'Adunata* charges Emma Goldman with having "sided with the Bolsheviki in the Kronstadt tragedy." Does not this charge itself prove that he did not as much as glance through her book? More, it proves that he does not know anything at all about Emma Goldman, and that he had never read her previous book on Russia, nor a single one of the many articles she has written about it, for in almost every one of her articles the Kronstadt matter was dealt with. I wonder whether the writer in *L'Adunata* has ever read anything at all about Russia of the Kronstadt period, and surely he has never read my series of articles and pamphlets on Russia, nor my book "Now and After, the ABC of Communist Anarchism," for in every one of those works the Kronstadt tragedy was described in detail and the attitude of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman in reference to Kronstadt was repeatedly stated in the most unmistakable terms. A number of those articles and pamphlets have been translated into various languages, Italian among them.

I cannot help doubting whether that anonymous *L'Adunata* "reviewer" is at all a comrade or any way near our movement. For what comrade, whatever country he is in, does not know that Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman were the *first* and *only* Anarchists in Russia (together with Perkus and Petrovsky) who officially—orally and in *writing*—protested to the Bolshevik Government against its *planned* attack on the revolutionary sailors and soldiers? That historic document, signed with our full names, has been reproduced in my Kronstadt pamphlet, in my book "What Is Communist Anarchism," in Emma Goldman's "My Disillusionment in Russia," in her "Living My Life," and in various articles. That protest was made *before* the Kronstadt bloodbath, and at a time when such a protest was a very dangerous matter.

Furthermore, what comrade does not know that we denounced the Bolshevik Government during and after the Kronstadt bloodbath and that Kronstadt was the culminating point that caused both Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman to break entirely and absolutely with the Bolsheviki and decided us to leave Russia so that we might enlighten the workers everywhere about the true nature of the Bolshevik dictatorship?

What then is the purpose of a "reviewer" in an *Anarchist* publication who charges Emma Goldman with having "sided with the Bolsheviki in the Kronstadt tragedy"? And what can excuse an Anarchist paper for helping to spread such obvious and foul lies?

It is passing strange to me that no one of E. G.'s many friends and comrades has protested against the methods of the "reviewers" of her book in *L'Adunata*. It is only therefore that I write these lines.

In conclusion I want to add: I have read many biographies and autobiographies, and I consider "Living My Life" one of the greatest works of that character. Not only because of its value as an unusual social and human document, nor merely because of its high literary and psychologic merits; but chiefly because Emma Goldman has had the courage to live her own life and had the even greater courage to tell about it in all truth and honesty.

Being human we all have our frailties and all make our mistakes. But it is from such books as "Living My Life" that we can draw inspiration for steadfastness to purpose, uncompromising loyalty to one's ideals, honest self-analysis and indomitable courage in the face of the enemy and—of friends.

Nice, December, 1932

It will interest our readers to know that Comrade Nettlau writing from Vienna under date of January 29, condemns what he calls "the beastly assault by that Marcus Graham on Emma Goldman."

H. K.

An Appeal from the Mohegan Anarchist Group

At our last group meeting we discussed the plight of Russian Anarchists—as reported in the last Bulletin of the "Russian Aid Fund."

We are not astonished at the brutal treatment—the exile to concentration camps—the disfranchisement as one of the cruelest methods of punishment.

The tactics of the "Proletarian" secret police are in no way different from those of the old "Ochrana"—with the exception that radicals were then considered and treated as politicals—whereas those politicals have now been "liquidated" — they are only "bandits."

There is but one way to help them—send money to the "Russian Aid Fund."

Our contribution can be but small.

The members of the Mohegan Anarchist Group suggest that FREEDOM through its columns appeal to all interested Anarchist groups in New York to organize a meeting which can be held in some hall or large workingmen's center—a meeting to protest against the sadistic treatment of men and women who have refused to conform to a system of industrial slavery imposed on them by armed force.

Money should be collected at this meeting and sent to the "Russian Aid Fund."

The Mohegan Anarchist Group will give the first $5.00 toward that fund and is eager to help in whatever way possible to make this meeting a success.

Fraternally, J. Rudome

For the Mohegan Anarchist Group.

P.S.—We hope to collect more for the same purpose.

FROM HERE AND THERE

By CARL NOLD

To the lame ducks in the labor movement:

"It is better to be too radical than not radical enough." From a speech of Karl Liebknecht, 1912.

* * *

Arthur Brisbane, writing on the cause and cure of the depression, would do well to consult the writings of his father, Albert, on the depression of 1873. He could learn a lot from it. Perhaps he read it and thinks his father was a visionary or a sentimentalist, while he is a "practical" man.

* * *

It is whispered in Detroit that Ford marched through his empty plant, playing a mouth-harmonica. Then he was rushed to a hospital for an "operation." Some went so far as to suggest that he is crazy. Is it not some kind of a "brain-storm" when a man who is making millions in America, is trying to expand his business until it covers the whole world to make some more? Does it not remind one of Kreuger and Insull?

KROPOTKIN'S PHILOSOPHY

(*Continued from page* 3)

constitutes Kropotkin's philosophy. The philosophy of ANARCHIST-COMMUNISM.

"A society thus inspired will fear neither dissensions within nor enemies without. To the coalitions of the past it will oppose a new harmony, the initiative of each and all, the daring which springs from the awakening of a people's genius.

"Before such an irresistible force conspiring kings will be powerless. Nothing will remain for them but to bow before it, and to harness themselves to the chariot of humanity, rolling towards new horizons opened up by the Social Revolution."

THE STUDENT ANTI-WAR CONGRESS (Report)

By SOPHIE FAGIN

Frivolity and ignorance of vital issues—an oft-repeated accusation against the American college youth, while the comparatively active role which European students play in the politics of their countries is pretty well recognized. Hence, it is encouraging to note in our American Universities the rise of intelligent minority groups who are swerving from the traditional paths of football games, sin parties and superficial studies, to assert themselves in the social problems of the day.

Of such a nature were the more than 600 delegates of the National Student Anti-War Congress, held at the University of Chicago, December 28-29.

The opening address is appropriately delivered by one of themselves, Joseph Cohen, of Brooklyn, student representative to the World Congress Against War at Amsterdam. This young man, declaring the impotence and futility of the politicians who make up the League of Nations, lands the work of the Amsterdam Congress, and, above all, impresses his fellow-students with the need for UNITY!

In a later session the same day, J. B. Matthews (Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation), Jane Addams, and Scott Nearing participated in a symposium of "Anti-War Movements." Mr. Mitchell effectively exposes the jingoistic roles of "the glorious institutions of higher learning" (yes, even those from which the delegates hail) before and during the late war. How they introduced courses in war geography, war chemistry, war languages, war composition, and war issues; how they spurred on their students to the battlefields!

Miss Addams, who delivers the next address is much more popular before than after the speech. Small wonder! The dear old lady claims that there is no danger of IMPERIALIST wars because there are no empires existent today, and she accordingly advises the students that they are fighting a dead issue. Ignoring all economic factors she attributes war or peace to the spirit and morale of the people.

Professor Nearing, however, brilliantly rebuts her assertions. "To talk about peace," he explains, "under a competitive system whose by-product is essentially war is mere *Pious Nonsense!* Wars will exist as long as the economic organizations that flourish on this earth depend, for their existence, on wars."

How the students appreciate this blunt and logical address! In the evening there are four study groups led by prominent figures in the anti-war movement on (1) Militarism in the Universities; (2) Students and Workers' Opposition to War; (3) Imperialism and the Revolt of Colonial Peoples; (4) Nationalism and War. At the last, led by Scott Nearing, and flooded by many, the professor does not monopolize the floor, but merely coordinates and guides the discussion. There are arguments on what constitutes a state, a nation; does nationalism end at the nominal border of each country, and do people fight because of national grievances or animosity, i.e., are there any other causes for war but economic? Hearty interest is displayed, and in the course of some two hours, about 80 students take the floor.

But—all this means indulging too freely in detail. Let us skip over to the afternoon session of the next day when an elected committee proposes its resolutions. Here can be seen the division of the delegates into decided factions. There are the Communists (National Student League members) who strongly urge a resolution pledging the defense of the Soviet Union against "impending attacks of capitalist powers." (And they gain such a clause, too!) There is the Communist Left Opposition Youth which reasons that the student anti-war movement cannot be successful if it isolates itself from the struggle of all proletarian youth, and that the only solution to militarism and war is the revolutionary solution. There are the Socialist factions which object to a clause which, (1) condemns the leaders of the 2nd International, and (2) warns the students against betrayal by such misleaders as those in the 2nd International.

There are thoroughgoing pacifists who believe that no war, regardless of its objective, is justifiable; the "War Resisters, who quote Einstein's statement that if only *two percent* of those called to arms resisted, a given war could be checked; the Green (Shirts) International, which advocates that just as the red shirts so historically served to dramatize the Garibaldi movement, and the black shirts serve to dramatize the Fascist movement, so would the movement against war be effectively dramatized by Green (the color of the green earth created without frontiers).

But despite these differences, the anti-war congress progresses. They pass resolutions such as these: "We as students of the United States determine to oppose American Imperialism in Latin America. We support the struggle of the masses of workers, peasants and students against the national ruling classes who are allied with the foreign imperialists."

Then they formulate plans for action: "We propose mass struggle and agitation for the abolition of the R.O.T.C. by means of distribution of leaflets, mass meetings, signature collections, and strikes."

"We propose anti-war demonstrations on all military holidays and against all military displays and militarist speakers at commencement exercises, charter day exercises, etc."

"We propose that we carry on propaganda against use of scientific and technical training facilities in the schools and universities for the destructive purposes of the War Department."

The last session of the National Student Anti-War Congress, scheduled to end at 9, does not conclude till one the next morning. The participants neglect the dance orchestra, playing for their entertainment in an adjoining room. They are intent on their all-important problem of organizing an anti-war movement among the "glorious institutions of education" in this country.

No one can doubt the sincerity of their purpose. They realize that their task is not merely to fold their hands in prayer to God for peace on earth. By and large they recognize the fact that peace and capitalism are not compatible.

The great majority of students are still not interested in this fight. The great majority of students are still content to confine their mental efforts to assignments in Greek, Latin, mock scandal sciences, and spoon-fed college courses.

The task of the returning delegates is to awaken these students. Militarism is not the only issue to combat in the present system, and social conscience will not be appeased by a mere isolated effort against war.

The students are starting on the road to social adjustment. They are young and searching. It is a long road! Hail to them on their journey!

ENGLISH PROPAGANDA CONFERENCE

SAT., FEBRUARY 18—1 P.M. Till 7 P.M., AND SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 19—11 A.M. Till 7 P.M.

in the FREE WORKERS CENTER, 219 2nd Ave.

All Comrades Must Come!

FREEDOM SPRING BALL

Friday, April 7, in Irving Plaza Hall

◄► *IMPORTANT CALL!* ◄►

Saturday and Sunday, February 18 and 19, there will be a conference for *English Propaganda*, at 219 Second Avenue, N. Y. Never before has there been greater need or more possibility for Anarchist Propaganda in the English language, whether through Anarchist press, books, pamphlets, etc., or through lectures, debates, discussions, etc.

To make such activities effective and substantial, clear understanding of aim and purpose, more harmony and cooperation, and earnest effort on the part of our better and able comrades are prerequisites before anything worth while along those lines can be undertaken by our movement.

Hence the Conference. And comrades and sympathizers in New York and vicinity are to make it their bounden duty to attend the sessions.

The first session will be held at 1 P.M., Saturday, February 18, until 7 P. M., and two sessions on Sunday, from 11 A.M. until 2 P.M., and from 3 P.M. until 7 P.M.

Each and every respective topic on the agenda will be introduced and presented in a clear, concise manner by an opening speaker, and discussion will follow.

It is up to you, comrades, to help make the three sessions interesting, constructive and fruitful. And one of the main conditions for this is to begin each session on time—and that depends on you.

Organized groups are urged to ask their members to attend, besides sending two delegates.

The following Agenda will be taken up for discussion:

"FREEDOM" AND OTHER ANARCHIST PUBLICATIONS;

A CENTRAL BUREAU OF ANARCHIST LECTURERS AND SPEAKERS;

AN AMERICAN ANARCHIST FEDERATION;

BOOKS AND LITERATURE FOR ANARCHIST INFORMATION AND PROPAGANDA.

LIBERTARIAN GROUP, NEW YORK

at International Center, 227 East 12th Street

February 22nd

PHILIP A. MARANGELLA

Renowned Lecturer

"THE GOAL OF A NEW WORLD ORDER"

LOS ANGELES, AT 8:30

Libertarian Forum, 420 N. Soto St., Mondays;

Confederate Libertarian Forum, 224 South Spring. Thursdays

Russian Progressive Club, 1785 East First Street. Open evenings.

DETROIT EDUCATIONAL FORUM

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LECTURES EVERY SUNDAY, 7:30 P.M.

FREE SOCIETY FORUM

1241 N. California Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Lectures and Discussions Every Sunday, 8 P.M.

SATURDAY NIGHT, FEBRUARY 25

Hall Johnson's New Production

"RUN LITTLE CHILLUN"

at the

LYRIC THEATER — 213 West 42nd Street

For the benefit of the Jewish Anarchist Weekly

"FREIE ARBEITER STIMME"

This will be a grand performance, with 150 in the cast—actors, singers, dancers, etc. All singing under the personal direction of Hall Johnson, and the dancing arranged and directed by Doris Humphrey.

—Tickets from Seventy-five Cents to Two Dollars—

To be obtained in advance at the office of the *Freie Arbeiter Stimme*, 45 West 17th Street, N. Y.

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